

Red Salute

Comrade Stalin

The Great Leader of the International Communist Movement

".....The dictatorship of the proletariat is not a mere change of personalities in the government, a change of 'cabinet' etc. leaving the old economic and political order intact. The Mensheviks and opportunists of all countries, who fear dictatorship like fire and in their fright substitute the concept 'conquest of power' for the concept dictatorship, usually reduce the 'conquest of power' to a change of the 'cabinet', to the accession to power of a new ministry made up of people like Scheidemann and Noske, MacDonald and Henderson. It is hardly necessary to explain that these and similar cabinet changes have nothing in common with the dictatorship of the proletariat, with the conquest of real power by the real proletariat".

—J. V. Stalin



"To a reformist, reforms are everything, while revolutionary work is something incidental, something just to talk about, mere eyewash. That is why, with reformist tactics under the conditions of bourgeois rule, reforms are inevitably transformed into an instrument for disintegrating the revolution. To a revolutionary, on the contrary, the main thing is revolutionary work and not reforms; to him reforms are a by-product of the revolution. That is why, with revolutionary tactics under the conditions of bourgeois rule, reforms are naturally transformed into an instrument for disintegrating that rule, into an instrument for strengthening the revolution, into a strong point for the further development of the revolutionary movement"

—J. V. Stalin



"... the victory of the revolution never comes of itself. It must be prepared for and won. And only a strong proletarian revolutionary party can prepare for and win victory. Moments occur when the situation is revolutionary, when the rule of the bourgeoisie is shaken to its very foundations, and yet the victory of the revolution does not come, because there is no revolutionary party of the proletariat with sufficient strength and prestige to lead the masses and to take power."

—J. V. Stalin

"STALIN'S UNDERSTANDING OF LENINISM IS THE UNDERSTANDING OF ALL COMMUNISTS OF MARXISM-LENINISM"

".....Who can deny that just as Lenin in his struggle against the revisionists and the centrists safeguarded the Marxist theory of state and the dictatorship of the proletariat from distortion and effacement and by generalising upon the historical experience of the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution, made tremendous contribution to Marxism, so also Stalin in his struggle against the Trotskyites and the Bukharinites safeguarded Marxism-Leninism from distortion and effacement and by generalising upon the historical experience of the period of general crisis of capitalism and further disintegration of world capitalist market enriched Marxism-Leninism

".....In fact the present understanding of Leninism, as distinct from Social-Democracy and Trotskyism, is due to Stalin.

".....Stalin's understanding of Leninism is the understanding of all Communists of Marxism-Leninism. This understanding has brought the Communist movement to its present stature. It will, of course, be further enriched in the light of experience of newer problems and developments; but nevertheless the basic understanding of Marxism-Leninism as established by Stalin will remain and guide the communists in the course of its further development and progress. Indeed like his precursors Marx, Engels and Lenin, Stalin also is an authority on Marxism-Leninism. To black Stalin out will have the inevitable result of disowning his authority and consequently of rejecting his interpretation of Leninism, which is the present day understanding of Marxism-

Leninism. To the future generation the chapter of relentless struggle waged by Stalin against the Trotskyites and the Bukharinites to safeguard the revolutionary spirit of Marxism-Leninism will remain dark and black and they will be deprived of the opportunity of being ideologically steered. It will mean invitation to all sorts of counter-revolutionary ideas being passed as Marxism-Leninism and the ideological side of the communist movement will suffer a setback. In short, it will objectively uncrown Lenin himself.

".....Not only as a theoretician of outstanding calibre but also as an able practical organiser, of the communist movement, Stalin should be remembered with Marx, Engels and Lenin".

—Comrade Shibdas Ghosh

[On Steps Taken By CPSU Against Stalin—March, 1962.]

Proletarian Era

ORGAN OF SOCIALIST UNITY CENTRE OF INDIA (Fortnightly)

Founder Editor-in-Chief—COMRADE SHIBDAS GHOSH

SINO-US ACCORD MARKS FINAL DEFEAT OF USA's "CONTAINMENT OF CHINA" POLICY

The US Government has finally climbed down from its long pursued 'Containment of China' policy to recognise the historic reality after twenty-nine years and its President, Mr. Carter spelt out this reality in a joint communique with the government of People's Republic of China that the USA "acknowledges the Chinese position that there is one China and that Taiwan is a part of China". The US Government will sever diplomatic relations with Taiwan, extend diplomatic recognition to the government of PRC from January 1, '79, terminate military treaty with Taiwan by the end of 1979 and all the formalities connected with normalization of diplomatic relations with PRC will be completed by March 1, '79. The Indian people are naturally happy at the defeat of US imperialist policy of containing China. They hail this accord and demand that Sino-Indian relations should also be normalized without any further delay on this or that pretext.

The recent accord between the governments of the Peoples' Republic of China and the USA reviving the normalizations in diplomatic relations after twenty-nine years since the emergence of the new republic, marks the finalization of the process of normalization of bilateral relations which started officially from the visit of President Nixon to China in May 1972 preceded by diplomatic activities including the secret visit of Mr. Kissinger to Peking in 1971.

According to the text of the agreement so far reported in the press, the main stumbling block in the normalization of relations between the two countries has been removed and the US Government which peddled 'two China' theory and so long maintained diplomatic relations with Taiwan had to declare that China was one and that Taiwan was an integral part of it. It had to declare further, severance of its diplomatic relation with Taiwan and termination of the existing military defence treaty after one year's notice. The diplomatic formalities like opening of Embassies and exchange of Ambassadors between the two countries signing the agreement would be completed by March 1, 1979. The Chinese Vice-Premier, Teng Hsiao-ping will visit Washington on an official tour in January '79 to meet Mr. Carter, the US

President.

However, to assuage the feelings of the surrogate Taiwan Government so long fed and nourished with US capital and arms, the US President on behalf of his government while declaring the withdrawal of the remaining troops has promised retention of cultural and business relations as also shipment of arms for its 'self-defence'. The US administration officials have acknowledged that explicit assurances from Peking on Taiwan's security "had not even been raised by the US in the negotiations with Peking".

The Chinese Premier Hua Kuo-feng, has told the world through the Press Conference called immediately after the agreements that this normalization of relations was "conducive to peace and the stability of the Asian region and the World as a whole". Referring to the US assurance of arms supply to Taiwan, the Chinese Premier has made the emphatic statement:

"We can absolutely not agree to this. In the discussions, the Chinese side repeatedly made clear its position on this question.

"We hold that a further normalization of relations the continued sale of arms to Taiwan by the US does not conform to the principles of normalization and would be detrimental to

the peace of the Asia-Pacific region."

He also made it very explicit by stating that the joint communique was not directed to anyone but would undoubtedly "contribute to the anti-hegemony struggle of the people of the whole World".

In order to go deep into the real causes of the change in the American foreign policy in general and the very character of its peace gesture, let us recapitulate the important points that **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**, our most revered leader and teacher and an outstanding Marxist thinker of the era pointed out some seven years back even before Kissinger's secret visit to Peking was made known. In an article, under the caption "On US President Nixon's proposed visit to China", [Proletarian Era, Vol. 5, No. 1, of 15th August 1971] we quoted **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh's** comment on this new turn in US foreign policy thus:

"It signifies a defeat of the US imperialist policy of containing China before the consistent and tough anti-imperialist foreign policy of the People's Republic of China, the heroic fight of the Vietnamese people against the US imperialists and the anti-war movement by the American people inside the country".

Concretising the reasons for this retreat of the US imperialism and showing real motive of this change we detailed out in that article the analysis of **Comrade Ghosh** thus:

First, it is an objective reality that continuously increasing militarization of its economy for the last two and a half decades has landed the USA into an abysmal depth of economic crisis. As concomitant evils of its militarised economy, economic recessions of severe intensity are taking place periodically; acute inflation is plaguing the economy; the dollar has lost its inter-

national prestige.....In short, in the words of **Comrade Ghosh** "the entire economic structure of the USA is standing today on quicksand and liable to collapse any moment."

The US government was therefore caught in a dilemma—it could not afford to bear the fresh burden of new wars, nor was it possible to quickly shift from the war economy built up during the long spell of 'gun before butter' policy, the rulers of the country pursued. But because of the high degree of militarization of the economy, the US economy suffered a set back in consumer goods industries as also in overseas markets for those goods and a serious imbalance in foreign trade had developed.

That is why, **Comrade Ghosh** pointed out: "We are, therefore, observing a phase, though a very temporary phase, when the US imperialist rulers are trying to switch over from war manoeuvres to peace manoeuvres, the two being the two edges of the same American imperialist policy. This imperialist policy is sometimes expressed in the form of war manoeuvres and at other times in the form of peace manoeuvres. The phase of war manoeuvres is marked by continuous indulgence in localized wars while the phase of peace manoeuvres is marked by attempts to come out of war impasse and gain a temporary respite from the effects of open wars."

Based on this very important analysis and timely pointer to the new development in the international situation we wrote then;

".....The peace manoeuvres by the US imperialist rulers are just stop-gap arrangements within the framework of existing militarized economy of the USA to gain a temporary respite from the effects of open wars, increase employment potential, boost

up commodity production for civil consumption and give a lift to export, of course, not disturbing the present expenditure on production of military goods. Nixon's proposed visit to China is a reflection of the shift in the US imperialist policy from war manoeuvres to peace manoeuvres, an indication of the attempts by the USA to normalize relations with the People's Republic of China in its bid to open the door of normal trade relations with China and maintain its influence in South-East Asia as means to expand commodity production for civil consumption and boost export....."

Secondly, we mentioned the truth that it exploded the myth of superiority of arms over people's power in general and that of US arms over the consistent anti-imperialist foreign policy of the People's Republic of China, in particular.

The third contributing factor was the surge of anti-war movement within the USA and the strident demand of the American people to their government to come out of Vietnam war in particular and direct engagement in war in general.

The normalisation of relations between the US and Chinese Governments is a significant event and marks the full victory of the Chinese stand on the issue. "Withdrawal of US troops from Taiwan and recognition of its future status as an internal affair of the Peoples' Republic of China" were the two conditions the Chinese leadership demanded and they have been fully met although US Government has not yet retraced from its position from giving military backing to the Nationalist clique of Taiwan, a self-defeating exercise, they will have to abandon sooner or later.

As then, today also we hold firmly that: The Chinese stand in this regard is in conformity with the five principles adopted at Bandung

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UTUC'S (Lenin Sarani) MEMORANDUM OF DEMOCRATISATION OF POLICE FORCE BEFORE NATIONAL POLICE COMMISSION

While the 'Marxist' Chief Minister of West Bengal Mr. Jyoti Basu never misses a single opportunity to give good certificate and showers praises on the police forces for their services to the people, the Police Commission instituted by the government of India under the chairmanship of Mr. Dharam Vira, former Governor of West Bengal came to Calcutta to elicit the opinions of different trade union centres and the chambers of commerce on the police forces. A memorandum on behalf of Comrade Pritish Chanda General Secretary, UTUC (Lenin Sarani) was handed over to the Commission in Calcutta on 22nd December which is reproduced below. It is interesting to note that whatever may be the opinion of the 'Marxist' Chief Minister of the state and the 'Left Front' even the chairman of the commission a seasoned bureaucrat opined in a press briefing (Amrita Bazar Patrika—26th December) that the commission should have been set up immediately after independence and the pity is that "in the police we had yet to come out from imperialism to democracy". He also said that police had got used to the practice of working according to the wishes of the ruling party in a way that they had become really the servants of the government and not of law. "The problem now was how to make the police the servants of the law." The commission visited police lock up of two different police stations one under the jurisdiction of Calcutta police and the other under Bengal police and observed that it was a shame that citizens of a free country were to be confined to 'piggeries' in the name of police lockups.

However, here is the text of the memorandum of UTUC (Lenin Sarani):

Being called upon, we, on behalf of UTUC (Lenin Sarani), place before you this memorandum.

On the basis of our concrete experiences in conducting the legitimate struggles of the oppressed strata of the society to defend their just rights and demands, we hold that the stigma attached to police force being the source of oppression and torture on the innocent and the actual protector of the miscreants has a long historical background coupled with socio-political factors. And without going deep into those factors and removing them, without bringing about a complete break from the tradition of the past and thus giving a new orientation in outlook and attitude, mere changes in law and administrative rules etc., which depend very much on the sweet will of the administrators for compliance, the situation can hardly be changed. From this angle, we want to bring to the fore, those

historic and socio-political factors that deserve the most serious attention in any meaningful exercise in bringing a radical change in the police forces and to place it on a truly democratic norm and principles, at least to the extent they obtained in western capitalist democracies at one time.

The historic background of the Indian police force as a highly centralised law keeping agency by the British rulers is too well-known. Unlike in the western capitalist democracies where certain democratic norms and traditions were set up at one stage, the imperialist rulers in our country set before the Indian police forces as object not the service to the people but to coerce them to submission to a tyrannical colonial rule. The imperialist rulers wanted the police to act as the worst kind of coercive agency to crush the democratic aspirations of the people and the freedom movement.

This imperialist outlook and attitude had their best

reflection in the attitude and outlook of the police towards the people. People from their bare experiences looked upon the police forces not as their friend but as their enemies, not as their protector against evil-doers but as the protector of the evil-doers against them. This tradition has not yet been broken even more than thirty years after Independence.

The nationalist leadership that came to power and has since been occupying it has not only retained almost the same spirit, motivation, outlook and attitude within the police forces, notwithstanding the empty rhetorics to the contrary of the leaders and Ministers, but has further corrupted this machinery with partisan spirit and thereby giving a good-bye to minimum administrative neutrality which is essential even for any semblance of democratic administration.

Because of this unhealthy and autocratic tradition a criminal mentality has permeated through and through within the police forces and instead of being the protector of the common people against the criminal gangs and wrong doers they have developed an evil tie with those who offend the law of civilised society. This is a reality so much so that Justice Mulla of the Hon'ble Allahabad High Court was once obliged to comment in one of his judgements that 'Police in our country is the most organised gang of criminals.' The language under quotation may not be exactly what the Hon'ble Justice uttered but is the essence of what he purported to point out. Arrest without warrant, and keeping no record of arrests, detention without trial for long period, application of third degree method against the arrested persons and even killing within jail were the common incidents in our country during the Congress regime.

The position was this for the last thirty years

during the Congress regime but the present Janata Government too has brought about no departure from this autocratic trend in the administration. Police savageries in the name of keeping law and order have not only been more frequent but also set up a new record in the last one year. The behaviour of police in the ghastly incidents of Bailadilla in Madhya Pradesh, Bokaro Steel in Bihar, Panthnagar farm and Kanpur Swadeshi Mill both in UP, bring the shocking revelation that even in a free country like ours workers, peasants and the common people in general are being treated by police as if they are the criminals, as if to deal with their legitimate movements is like a military campaign against the enemies by a brutal army. This brings shame to the national conscience and is unthinkable for the citizens of any free and democratic country. The moot question, therefore, is how to bring a radical change to this legacy of colonial rule that the police forces in our country are still carrying.

The root cause of this atrocious behaviour of police forces against the people lies not only in the decadent capitalist order of our country but in the admixture of the outlook and attitude of the old colonial rule in matters like policing. The police is still enjoying all the protective clauses in the Indian Penal Code for their criminal and anti-social activities on the plea that all those acts have been "done or intended to be done in good faith under colour of office". Not only, therefore, these protective clauses of the Indian Penal Code but the extraordinary and most arbitrary powers conferred on police forces by various laws give the policemen legal immunity for their crimes against the people. And the refusal by the government to hold open enquiries into public complaints against police on the plea that such

enquiries "domoralise the police force" instead of restraining the policemen have further emboldened them in perpetrating crimes against the people and the society.

To bring about a real change in the situation, therefore, not only democratic changes should be made effective in the judicial-administrative system, but definite code of democratic conduct for the police forces should be laid down and policemen made punishable for breaches of that code. In order to bring about minimum democratic norms in the behaviours of police personnels, we put forward some of the pressing suggestions and demand for their acceptance.

One: People should be saved from the indignities or tortures (third degree method) in police lock-up. They should also be saved from extortion of money by police as a price for their liberty and rights.

Rule of law demands that no punishment can be awarded to any citizen before a definite charge against him is established in an open trial and that too after ensuring freest scope for self-defence. In view of this, any torture suffered in police lock-up by a citizen is nothing but a criminal act of the police and should be stopped by making the guilty policemen subject to severe punishment enjoined in law of the land as also discharge from service and full compensation to the aggrieved person. The onus of proving that there was no torture should lie not with the tortured but police who is guilty of torture.

Two: Rule of law further demands that there cannot be any arbitrary arrest or detention of a citizen by falsely implicating in any case and without proper warrant which so often occur in our country. The remedy lies in abolition of preventive detention on mere suspicion as also in curbing the arbitrary powers the police and

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Anti-Democratic Attitude and Approach of the CPI(M)-led 'Left Front' Government in the Assembly

The CPI(M)-led 'Left Front' in West Bengal came to Governmental power holding out promise to restore and protect democratic rights of the people and fight against authoritarianism. But the record of performance of the 'Left Front' Government of the State shows that the democratic rights, norms and ethics have been the biggest casualty at its hands during its one-and-a-half year rule. We have exposed on earlier occasions the anti-people non-Left character of the policies pursued by this Government in every sphere. It has not taken a single measure or issued a single order from any of its Ministerial departments, which can curb the monopolists and give the people some relief within the present capitalist system, or which does really strengthen the democratic norms and practices. Persistent negation of democratic practices and adoption of high-handed, bureaucratic and authoritarian attitude mark out a distinct trend in this Government's mode of functioning.

For instance, it superseded autonomous educational bodies through ordinances and placed them into charge of its handpicked men—as it did in the case of four universities in the State and the Board of Secondary Education. It brutally suppressed the legitimate democratic movement of the electricity workers at Santaldih (Purulia) by deploying a 'task force' of hired goondas and police. It used the same elements to beat up demonstrating medical students in Calcutta. During the recent flood-relief operations, this Government pushed aside even the semblance of administrative neutrality and channelised the relief operations only through a section of the Government employees known to have allegiance to the constituents of the 'Left Front'.

The same undemocratic—rather anti-democratic—attitude, the same lack of tolerance for any criticism of its policies and manner of functioning, and the same disregard for democratic norms and ethics are evident in galore in the manner this Government is conducting itself in the present State Assembly. The 'Left Front' has a very big majority in the house. But untempered by even this brute majority, the members of the CPI(M) and its allies are trampling all democratic norms, ethics and code of conduct in their bid to suppress all

political criticism of the Government on the floor of the House during each of its sessions in the last one and a half year. On every occasion our Party's representatives in the House have laid bare the anti-people character of the policies of the 'Left Front' Government on major issues like labour, industrial relations, taxation, land reforms, panchayat, education and, above all, the legitimate democratic mass movements of the toiling people. But practically on all issues the Government side has avoided meeting the points of our criticism and replying to the questions raised by our representatives.

In the recently concluded session (November 17 to December 15, 1978) of the State Assembly, for instance, Comrade Debaprasad Sarkar, leader of our Party's group in the House, cited numerous evidences, while he was speaking on the Chief Minister's statement on the recent floods, to show the utter callousness, indifference and inefficiency of the 'Left Front' Government in meeting the relief and rescue requirements of the millions of the affected people. He also cited instances to show the nakedly partisan attitude of the Government in distributing relief items and the misappropriation of relief materials by the CPI(M) workers at many places. But astonishingly,

the Chief Minister, Mr. Jyoti Basu, preferred to overlook these charges and avoided giving any reply. Comrade Sarkar also demanded to know why our Party's representatives were not taken on the district-level all-party relief committees despite the Government's announcement that all parties represented in the Assembly would be included in these committees. But no answer was forthcoming from the Chief Minister to this question too.

On the last day of this session, when the bill on the taking over of the Bangabasi group of colleges was being debated, Comrade Sarkar had pointedly asked the Minister for Higher Education why the Government, despite its repeated promise on earlier occasions, was not taking over the Birla College whose governing body was held guilty of committing gross irregularities including the unlawful discharge of a teacher from service. But the Minister concerned, who was physically present, sat out silently avoiding to reply.

The 'Left Front' Government's role in the Assembly has not been restricted however to a mere overlooking or bypassing of the criticisms. Representatives of the CPI(M) and its allies have been trying to obstruct our representatives whenever they take the floor to voice the people's grievances and discontents against the Government's anti-people policies. It is also a fact that the Press reporter usually leave the House by the time our representatives are generally called upon to speak. On many occasions even the times allotted to them have not been sufficient. It is really astounding that the members of the 'Left Front' should behave like that when they have an overwhelming majority in the House. What are they really afraid of? If they

feel that the Government's stands are justified, and they have enough arguments to sustain, why should they at all fear to face any opposition and criticism? Do their conduct and attitude promote healthy and democratic atmosphere in the House? Does not their attempt to meet arguments by physical exercise of the brute majority in the House prove their political-ideological bankruptcy and sheer incapacity to stand up to the forces of reasoning or to tolerate an Opposition view-point?

There are more about the manner the members of the CPI(M) and its allies and some Opposition parties are conducting themselves on the floor of the House. The Press reports reveal that the House presents scenes of pandemonium almost every day when it is in session. Visitors in the spectators' gallery and the common people, on reading these reports, wonder how the members of the CPI(M), masquerading as 'Leftists', could indulge in abusive and filthy exchanges unsuited to the dignity expected of the members of a political party, let alone a party claiming to be communist. Neither the CPI(M), nor its allies seem to care how much their own conduct in public forums are contributing to the rapid degeneration in public life.

Another example may be cited to show how the 'Left Front' Government reacts to public criticism voiced on the House's floor on any urgent issue, or on some crisis in the people's life. The Assembly was adjourned only four days after it had met for its monsoon session during the early phase of the recent floods in the State. The Government gave the plea that the Ministers and the MLA's would have to be busy conducting relief and rescue operations in the flood-affected areas. But did the Ministers visit those areas

which were hit by the flood on the eve of the Assembly session? Besides, in the wake of such a disaster in the people's life the Assembly was the important forum where on to review the flood situation and discuss the remedial measures and the requirements of rescue and relief of the affected people. Then, does the sudden decision to adjourn the session on such a frail plea really prove the Government's concern for the people's great distress?

Or it proves that the Government was afraid of facing the severe criticism of its total failure to meet the flood situation? Evidently, the Government's decision at the same time to impose restriction on dissemination of the flood news was calculated to conceal from the public view the gravity of the situation and the Government's callous and inefficient handling of it.

The present Assembly has also been witness to some unprecedented examples set by the ruling 'Left Front'. During the last one and a half year the Government side has opposed admission of all Opposition adjournment motions on urgent issues. For instance in the last session, Com. Debaprasad Sarkar had wanted to move an adjournment motion on the police attack on the striking dock workers in the recent past. But this was also denied admission.

There is hardly any precedence for this total and persistent refusal. The CPI(M) and its allies ought to be reminded that when they were in the Opposition they had so often criticised the previous Congress Government for similar refusals. Now they are guilty of the same crime. It should also be mentioned that there is a practice to allow the text of motion, which has not been admitted, to be read out. The 'Left Front' Government had wanted

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Even the minimum Democratic Norms and Ethics are trampled by the "Left Front" of West Bengal

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to deprive the Opposition of this normal democratic practice even, but it had failed to carry its intention through in the face of extremely stiff opposition. But now it has taken recourse to a heinous trick. Such motions submitted from the Opposition are being edited in such a way that the original contents are largely changed—especially portions relating to criticism of the Government, or those unpalatable to it are cleverly left out from the edited versions.

However, the way the Government side conducted itself in the last two days of the recently concluded session has dimmed all its earlier record. On the 14th December last, the House was debating an important bill—the West Bengal Central Valuation Board Bill—which concerned itself with the valuation of properties within the jurisdiction of the municipalities in the State. As the discussion continued late into the evening, the Opposition members demanded that any further discussion on the Bill be postponed till Friday, the next day. According to the Statesman (15.12.78): "At 7-30 p.m. the Speaker asked the members to come at 11 a.m. on Friday so that the discussion on the Bill could be resumed without any change in the day's business". But later, the discussion on the Bill was resumed due to persistent demand from the Treasury Bench and it was passed the same evening. It has been reported that Comrade Debaprasad Sarkar had then pointed out that this indicated that an extra parliamentary pressure was exerted on the Speaker to change his decision. This is indeed unprecedented.

Next day, pandemonium had again broken out following the Opposition's demand that the West Bengal Central Valuation Board Bill be brought before the House for consideration. The demand was

not granted. At one stage the Chief Minister is reported to have even tried to bully the Opposition which led the pandemonium to its peak and for this the House had to be adjourned for half an hour. Later, when it met again, Comrade Debaprasad Sarkar drew attention of the Speaker to the fact that in the past when such pandemonium had broken out senior members from both sides used to help maintain order and decorum in the House. But in the present case, senior leaders of the Government side, including the leader of the House himself, were found to behave in such a way that aggravated the pandemonium further.

From all this it appears that the CPI(M) and its allies are unwilling to admit even that the Speaker has his loyalty not to the Government side but to the entire House. They seem also to be unwilling to follow the established norm which the majority in the House is expected to follow in order to fulfil its obligations to the Opposition in accordance with the democratic norms and practice.

It should be pointed out in this context that in the present era when capitalism has lost all its progressive role and has become decadent and reactionary, the democratic norms and code of conduct, which used to be followed in the bourgeois parliament in the early phase of growth of capitalism when it had been upholding the democratic rights and ethics are no longer practised with the same zeal even in the Western capitalist countries. But in our country the practice of democratic norms and ethics has been on a far lower level. Even then, the binding influence of the democratic norms and ethics—to the extent these had grown in our country in the course of the freedom struggle—which used to work on the parliamentary

parties in the early years after the independence has been deeply eroded today with intensification of the crisis of capitalism. Not only that, the CPI(M) and its allies are found to be practically vying with the Congress, the Congress (I) and the Janata Party to deride the ethical standard and norms still prevailing in public life. So the question arises as to the future of democracy when those, who cry themselves hoarse over the restoration and protection of democratic rights, themselves undermine the democratic rights, norms and ethics for petty party interests in the parliamentary battle.

This is another pointer that unless the people rally themselves round and strengthen the genuine revolutionary party which is our Party, the SUCI, in Indian soil, the restoration, protection and extension of democratic rights and ethics would remain a far cry.

STALIN BIRTH CENTENARY OBSERVED IN A BEFITTING MANNER

In response to the above call of the Central Committee to observe the year-long birth centenary of Comrade Stalin, the Great International Communist Authority and Leader, all the State Committees and units have started observing it in a most dignified way throughout the country commencing from today, the birth day of Comrade Stalin.

In the Central Party Office Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, the General Secretary of the party, hoisted the Red Flag and garlanded the portrait of Comrade Stalin in a solemn atmosphere in presence of the State leaders among

others. At the end the Internationale was sung. On this occasion the Central Party Office was decorated in a befitting way.

In Calcutta all the Party units have observed this at all the local party offices and public places through garlanding of portrait of Comrade Stalin, singing of Internationale and display of posters on the evaluation of Comrade Stalin by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the founder General Secretary of our party.

In West Bengal all the District Committees have started their programme in all the units and working centres in the same way.

SUCI SUPPORTS THE JUTE AND ENGINEERING WORKER'S STRIKE

Comrade Sukomal Dasgupta, Secretary, West Bengal State Committee of SUCI has issued the following statement to the press on 27th Dec. '78:

"We fully support the proposed strike in Jute and Engineering Industries West Bengal from 5th

and 12th January, '79 respectively.

"The Jute and Engineering workers' old wage agreements had long been expired but they have been denied of a new agreement due to adamant attitude of IJMA and managements in engineer-

ing industries. They are fighting on just demands.

"We call upon the workers in Jute and Engineering industries to close up their ranks and force the managements to come to a just settlement of their demands".

ALL INDIA CONFERENCE

of the

U. T. U. C. (Lenin Sarani)

at

PATNA

ON FEBRUARY 16, 17 & 18, 1979

Placating the Industrialists and the workers at the same time !

Mr. Jyoti Basu, the Chief Minister of West Bengal who is a member of the Polit Bureau of 'Marxist' Communist Party as also Vice-President of CITU was addressing the jute workers associated with the CITU led union on 17th December. It was on the eve of the proposed indefinite strike of the jute workers of the state on and from 5th of January '79. In our previous issue we informed our readers about the non-struggling role of CITU grown particularly after CPI(M) came to Governmental power in the state and its opposition to the joint strike struggle till the last moment when it came to know of the possibility of the strike independent of its joining in it. Our readers must also know by this time that the jute workers' old charter of demand had long expired and that during the last fifteen months, the 'Left Front' Government led by CPI(M) did nothing to open tri-partite talk for settlement of their fresh charter of demand nor it did anything for the implementation of the decisions already arrived at either through expert committee appointed by the previous government or through arbitration recommendation of the Central Labour Minister. Now listen to what Mr. Jyoti Basu was telling the jute workers on the eve of their indefinite strike struggle.

Mr. Basu was telling that "there was no reason for a strike in the jute mills" as "they are making good profits and enjoying an encouraging market". In his opinion the jute worker's agreement had long expired and there should have been its renewal by the management "which carried on repression on the workers during the emergency and did not concede many of their just demands, was adamant even now to deprive the employees".

—(Economic Times 18.12.78.)

Mr. Basu was obviously trying to carry a good impression with the workers but in doing so he was careful. First he kept silent on the question as to what little precious thing his government did for the jute workers when according to his own admission the jute barons were minting profits and enjoying good market. Secondly, he was also silent on the repressions the jute workers not only suffered during the Emergency as he referred to but are still facing. It is surely not unknown to him that even now thousands of jute workers who were thrown out of employment during Emergency are still out of jobs and the increased

workload imposed on the workers during the same period still continues. Mr. Basu was careful not to mention those facts which might be unpalatable to the jute barons. In fact in the struggle of the jute workers these two are important points.

In the same speech, to assure the jute barons of their 'reasonableness' Mr. Basu said that the workers led by CITU were not trained to go on strike on flimsy grounds. And after bellowing hot to draw the applause of the workers by declaring that the government would not use police to break the strike he switched on to conciliatory note and urged the management to "accept the existence of a 'Left Front' Government". There was nothing to be afraid of this government, he said. "We want the industry to grow here and make fresh investment, so that our boys get employment and the state's economy is sustained."

(Ibid)

So, when thousands of workers have been thrown out of the industries in this crisis-ridden capitalist economy and they have not yet got back their employment and the crisis mounts on, Mr. Basu was holding

out the prospect to them of their boys getting employment if the industry makes fresh investment and all that. Yet he is a 'Marxist'!

Just a few days after, Mr. Basu was speaking before the industrialists while inaugurating the regional centre of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industries. He wanted to make an amend to what he said to the workers. Cordiality with the industrialists was the very key note. Mr. Basu said to the industrialists (or was he giving a line to them?) "It is not necessary that all demands of the workers have to be conceded but they can certainly sit together and settle issues among themselves".

Referring to impending strike in the jute and engineering industries Mr. Basu said: "We feel concerned, we are not happy." (Economic Times 22.12.78)

Mr. Basu made no secret for the reason of his concern and unhappiness. He pointed out that there had not been a major strike in any industry in the state during the past one and a half years. He felt that in most cases misunderstanding about facts and figures, explaining the condition of the company and their interpretation was at the root of industrial disputes. He cited the example of a major packaging unit in the state where the threat of strike could be averted only recently across the table. "Let us then sit together and try to avert such crisis in future."

Mr. Basu calls himself a 'Marxist' but he feels concerned and unhappy when the oppressed workers having no other means left to them are organising strike struggle against the oppression and tyranny of the capitalists. But Mr. Basu is a 'Marxist' and a member of the Polit Bureau of a 'Marxist' Party who claims achievement for the fact that no major strike in any in-

dustry in the state did take place during their fifteen month's rule in the state. Do they mean to say that there was no capitalist class exploitation over the workers during this period? Have the capitalist rule of exploitation undergone a radical change because of the change in government? If not, then the logical conclusion is that even if there has not been an end of capitalist exploitation over the workers, Mr. Basu and his party will be 'happy' and relieved if the workers do not try to organise even trade union struggle which by its very nature is nothing but defensive in this class-divided capitalist society. To keep the workers contented and inactive in the face of ever-mounting attacks of the capitalist class, it seems, therefore, the political objective chosen by not only Congress and Janata Party the known bourgeois forces but by the 'Marxist' Communist Party also. Secondly, Mr. Basu gave a concrete instance of how to meet the strike threat obviously given by the workers' union. His recipe is to sit with the workers' representatives, make them understand the difficulty of the company and if possible to concede a few concessions and thus to avert strike. He cited a concrete instance in a packaging unit but did not mention the identity of the union leadership. May be

it is under the leadership of CITU which has been trained not to resort to strike on and often. The novelty of the approach is that, according to Mr. Basu, workers are only interested to get to know the difficulty of the company meaning the capitalists and as soon as they get it over the table, their demands, their wants, their poverty all melt in thin air and there is cordiality all around.

Let us come to the finest part of Basu's speech. He was saying: "Whether we like it or not there will be co-existence of private, public and joint sectors in a mixed economy". He urged all sectors to work in co-ordination to foster growth. Otherwise, the economy would suffer and there would be chaos and confusion. (Ibid)

What a fine specimen of 'Marxism' indeed! In the words of Lenin, propagation of 'social peace' that is, peace between the wage slaves and the slave owners, renunciation of class struggle for a few pence is the usual service social democracy gives to the bourgeoisie. By putting the workers ground down by capitalist exploitation under rein and holding them with reformist illusion, is the service CPI(M) is offering to the crisis-ridden Indian bourgeoisie.

SINO-US ACCORD

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conference, and had not US imperialists taken a rabid anti-China policy of encircling, containing and even destroying the revolutionary government of China, Sino-US diplomatic relations would have been normalised long before and nobody had any ground for taking any objection to it.

Lastly, we call upon the government of India to take note that normalisation of Sino-Indian

relations is the sincere desire of the Indian people and they want it to materialise without any further delay.

In our opinion, if the Sino-Indian relations are normalised and India along with China take a consistent anti-hegemony stand then it can really contribute to a significant measure, in easing tension and ensuring peace in the Indian sub-continent in particular, let alone its impact on the global politics.

ON THE ENSUING CIVIC ELECTION IN ORISSA

In view of the ensuing civic election in Orissa, the SUCI Orissa State Committee, in a resolution states that it is the experience of the people that the Municipalities and N. A. C. Bodies have become the centres of corruption and maladministration. So long these bodies were controlled by the Congress elements and some of such elements have now combined in Congress(I) and Janata Party. Naturally, mere replacement of one party or group by another will serve no purpose of the common citizens. It is the considered opinion of the State Committee that civic amenities can be guaranteed only when civic administration are freed from the grip of the vested interests and corrupt elements, and this can be done only by a United Front of Left and Democratic Parties and Forces, developed on the basis of a common agreed programme and a code of conduct to fight against the emerging authoritarian forces represented by Indira Gandhi and the propounder of two party system, the Janata Party and the reactionary party like Congress and all other communal and parochial forces. These communal and parochial elements are not only in the known communal, regional and proclial parties but they are also in the Congress, Congress(I) and Janata Party.

SUCI Orissa State Committee also proposes, while nominating candidates by the proposed front, the following criteria must be followed :

1) The candidate must be clean and free from all corrupt practices and he must be a man of integrity, as well as of confidence of the people.

2) The candidate must have a pro-people and anti-ruling class attitude and personally connected

with progressive and democratic movements.

3) The candidate must uphold democratic values and norms and seriously consistently try to implement the Front's Programme against all obstacles and difficulties.

4) The candidate must be approved by all the constituents of the Front.

5) The candidate must make a public declaration that he will strictly adhere to the principle, policies and programmes of the Front and will follow the code of conduct.

SUCI Orissa State Committee proposes the following Programme :

Health and Sanitation

1) Underground drainage system in all the cities and proper drainage system in all other towns and places under Municipalities and N. A. Cs.

2) Arrangements for proper and regular sanitation.

3) Regular supply of pure water in adequate quantum.

4) Effective measures to eradicate mosquitoes from the cities and particularly in slum areas.

Housing, Construction and Repairing work

1) A scheme for removal of slums and construction of Pucca buildings will immediately be taken up and implemented. Pending its completion, all necessary arrangements will be done for proper sanitation, water-supply and electricity in the slum areas.

2) Where necessary, new roads and streets will have to be constructed, and the damaged roads and streets should be immediately repaired.

Education

1) Primary Schools will have to be opened in all the slum areas.

2) Public Libraries in all towns and places will have to be opened.

Dastardly attack by the CPI(M) Against Our Party in Kerala

Quilon, 3rd December, '78 :

Dastardly attacks on our party leaders, activists workers and supporters are on the increase everywhere in Kerala State. Judged on the recent happenings, the CPI(M) has far outbid its fellow ruling parties and vested interests in the matter of bringing down physical assaults, violent attacks on our meetings and the like.

Ostensibly, these are the tactics resorted to by the fascist organisations everywhere. The CPI(M) also is no exception and only after having failed to dampen the spirit of our comrades of carrying on the revolutionary thoughts of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**, the great leader and teacher of the proletariat in every nook and corner of the State of Kerala they have picked up the cudgels left by its fascist counterparts. The incident of brutal attack brought down by the local hoodlums led by the CPI(M) and aided and abetted by the police near the venue

of a public meeting held at Perumthuzha (Quilon District) on 2nd December last, is a glaring case.

Earlier, on 28th November '78 last, the signboard of our Perumthuzha (Quilon District) Local Party Office was stolen at dead of night. From our past experience, we could smell foul game guided by political motive and so instead of ignoring this incident as a petty case of theft, we took the issue to the public along with registering a 'FIR' with the local police station. Accordingly a public meeting also was arranged and held at Perumthuzha on 2nd December, '78. On the day of the meeting at about 4 PM when our comrades were busy talking with Comrade C. K. Lukose, Quilon District Secretary of our Party in the party office, a row was heard all of a sudden outside the party office. Rushed to spot, it was found, two of our comrades who were coming to the party office

was surrounded by some 75 miscreants and were being beaten severely. They even fell on the ground. But very soon the miscreants had to make a good escape before a heroic resistance offered by our comrades who rushed from the party office. But before long, around 150 in numbers, mostly goondas of nearby locality led by the local CPI(M) leadership appeared in the scene and started stoning our party office and launched a cowardly attack on the handful of comrades present there with the lethal weapons carried by them. Obviously, it was a pre-planned attack. Even Comrade C. K. Lukose, Secretary, Quilon District Committee was not spared. When he was carrying a comrade bleeding profusely in a scooter to the hospital, he was attacked on his way by the invading goondas as a result of which he received serious injury and the scooter was badly mangled. All told, three of our comrades had to be

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UTUC's (Lenin Sarani) Memorandum to the National Police Commission

(Contd. from Page 3)

administration enjoy due to anti-people laws and judicial processes. Police in reality, has assumed the position of the court, which cannot be allowed to enjoy. In our country, innocent persons become victims if false criminal cases of they incur the displeasure of policemen or at the instigation of the landlords, rich peasants, the employers in urban sector as also the party in power. Most of them are to suffer long detention as under-trial prisoners because of the opposition of police against granting bails and moreover the poor workers and peasants also fail to meet the court expenses for bail. In order to stop the sufferings of common people from the vindictiveness of police, laws should be amended so as to provide no detention without trial, deterrent punish-

ment to police officials for bringing false cases, as also full compensation to the persons suffering this kind of unlawful detention.

Three : It is the usual experience in our country that to break any legitimate democratic movement of the oppressed people, indiscriminate arrests are made and persons detained for indefinite period before fictitious charges are brought formally which often fall through. Democratic norm and a healthy convention demand that such practices should be stopped.

Fourth : In order to encourage legitimate democratic movement of the oppressed people to develop in the country against the oppressor class, it should be the guiding principle of the government to declare and strictly adhere to the policy of "non-interference of police

in the legitimate democratic movement". Not only this; the barbarous and savage attacks of police against the striking workers or the poor peasants organising movement in the rural areas or the people in general should also be stopped, otherwise democratic rights and liberties of the people become a big joke.

Fifth : Along with the colonial heritage of an autocratic Code of conduct the police forces are also showing a totally subservient role to the wishes of the party in power. As a result, minimum administrative neutrality which is the very test for a democratic rule is totally absent.

It is the common experience now that police officials dictated by the party in power are :

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Observe Comrade J.V. Stalin's Birth Centenary in a Solemn and Befitting Manner

On the eve of the Birth Centenary of the great leader of international communist movement Comrade J. V. Stalin the Central Committee of our party SUCI has decided to observe and the party has already started to observe this Birth Centenary in a befitting manner throughout the country. On this occasion the Central Committee issued the following statement to the Press on 18th December last :

"The SUCI will observe the birth centenary of the Great International Communist Authority and Leader Comrade J. V. Stalin in a most befitting and dignified way commencing on 21st December, 1978 with garlanding the portrait of the Great Leader, hoisting of Red Flag and singing the Internationale in a solemn ceremony in Party Offices and all working centres. On 21st December, 1978 at SUCI's Central Office at

48, Lenin Sarani, Calcutta, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee General Secretary SUCI will garland the portrait of Comrade Stalin, and hoist the Red Flag at 9 A.M. And this year long programme will include innumerable Squads, Group Meetings, Mass Meetings, Quotation Exhibitions etc. etc. throughout the country, Party Units will continually uphold the memorable struggles and teachings of the Great Leader Comrade Stalin from his works which pave the way for fighting on the hand the ultra-leftism of Trotsky and on the other hold aloft the noble banner of Leninism high against all sorts of reformism and revisionism. The year long Birth Centenary programme will culminate on 21st December, 1979 in a gigantic way—the details of which will be announced later on".

CPI(M)'s attack on our Party

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immediately hospitalised in a precarious condition and dozens more received severe wounds. Last but not the least, our Party Office, in witnessing this murderous frenzy of the hoodlums still bears the marks of organised vandalism led by the CPI(M). On being informed, a contingent of police though came to the spot, but astonishingly, the culprits were not arrested. Even when the Circle Inspector was approached instead of giving any patient hearing and taking action against the miscreants he used filthy abusive languages. It shows beyond any doubt that the police was hand-in-glove with the miscreants led by the CPI(M).

But this heinous attack even could not dampen the spirit of the worker of the revolutionary party stilled with the great teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh and the scheduled public

meeting announced beforehand was held at the venue of Perumpuzha. Comrade C. K. Lukose, Quilon District Secretary, even though injured seriously addressed the gathering as the main speaker. Comrade Lukose narrated, how one after another such brutal attacks are being brought down by the CPI(M) leadership with the help of hooligans and in connivance with police and who, retorted Comrade Lukose, perhaps sensing the CPI(M)'s return to power in the not too far off State Assembly polls, have already started turning their faces to the CPI(M). He reminded his audience to view these attacks from class angularity and said such fascistic attacks as have been coming will continue to come in future too. But this surely does not show their strength

but utter nervousness of the pseudo-revolutionaries who are loosing ground to the real revolutionary party of the proletariat, SUCI, carrying the banner of great revolutionary thoughts of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. It was no wonder therefore, that the police and the vested interests will combine under the leadership of the CPI(M) in this armed attack trying to annihilate us. Amidst wide acclaim and repeated applause, Comrade Lukose said that no amount of threat and intimidation can halt the victorious march of epoch-making thoughts of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the Founder General Secretary of SUCI and an outstanding Marxist thinker and philosopher of the age now sweeping every nook and corner of the State of Kerala. Among others, Comrade P. Badaruddin and Rajendran also spoke, while Comrade Vijayakrishnan presided over the meeting.

In the perspective of these glaring instances of anti-people and undemocratic attitude and behaviour of the CPI(M) leadership, the State Organising Committee of Kerala along with submitting a memorandum to the Collector and the DSP, have in a press statement appealed to the people to condemn this brutal attack and give defeat to the politics of goondaism pursued by the CPI(M). We demand that stern steps should be immediately taken against the miscreants involved in the heinous and cowardly attack with a palpable criminal design.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE STATEMENT

On the punishment of Indira Gandhi

Com. Nihar Mukherjee, General Secretary, SUCI has said in course of a statement the following :

"The manner in which the issue of Mrs. Indira Gandhi has been handled from the very beginning and the fact that both the ruling Janata Party and entire opposition including the so-called lefts have obliged themselves by reducing her political crime of butchering democratic rights and perpetuating a fascistic regime on the people to the violating the privilege of the House, unmistakably point to a serious fact that under the smokescreen of acrimonious debates and air of animosity generated

in Parliament and outside, there lies a typical identity of interest between these mock fighters in deceiving the common people by diverting their attention from her real crime.

"People cannot save themselves from the curse of authoritarianism and guard their interest unless they come forward to build up strong mass movements against all the defenders and hirelings of the crisis-ridden capitalism that is bound to breed authoritarianism by building a united front of all genuine left and democratic forces as an instrument of struggle, on minimum common programme."

Memorandum to Police Commission

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(i) Refusing to accept F.I.R even of murderous assaults by criminals if the aggrieved people belong to the parties or organisations opposed to the policies of the parties in power.

(ii) Torturing and putting under arbitrary arrest and various other forms of harassment, the persons who happen to be the organisers, leaders or supporters of the parties or organisations in the opposition :

(iii) Giving shield of protection to the rowdies and anti-socials and even to those guilty of murderous activities to appease the parties in power.

If this be the position then all talks about democratic rights and liberties of the people become empty words and police instead of becoming the protector of the common people continue to remain the protector of the criminals and anti-socials.

In view of the above, we would demand a new orientation in the whole administrative morality of

the police forces in line at least with the standard already established democracies.

Police, instead of becoming the protector of the miscreants should be an organised social force against the black marketeers, adulterators, smugglers and organised gangs of criminals. In the just and legitimate struggle between the oppressed people and the oppressor capitalist class, police forces should not be allowed to be utilised by the oppressors and the vested interest against the oppressed. But it can be recalled that in almost every case of atrocities committed on the Adivasies and Harijans, police forces have helped the criminals either by actively associating with them or by showing criminal indifference. The collusion and partisan behaviours of police forces in all the cases of atrocities on the minority communities and the Harijans bring to sharp focus all the more, the urgency of a thorough overhauling in the police forces by placing them on definite democratic norms and principles—an urgent task long overdue.

Editor-in-Chief—NIHAR MUKHERJEE

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